

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BRIDGETOWN 0182

KINGSTON FOR USOAS AMBASSADOR MAILLARD

PORT AU PRINCE FOR USOAS AMBASSADOR MAILLARD

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: OAS CHARTER REFORM, US PROPOSALS

REF: STATE 018860

SUMMARY

WE VIEW WITH CONCERN PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH ASSOCIATE STATE MEMBERSHIP FOR MINI-STATES. MOST IF NOT ALL CANDIDATES FOR SUCH MEMBERSHIP ARE LOCATED IN OUR AREA OF JURISDICTION. WE BELIEVE THEY WOULD REJECT PROPOSAL AS DEMEANING TO THEM AND DO NOT BELIEVE THEY CAN BE INDUCED TO ACCEPT ANY STATUS LESS THAN FULL MEMBERSHIP. OUR SPONSORSHIP OF SUCH PROPOSAL WOULD GIVE RISE TO RESENTMENT TO DETRIMENT OUR OVERALL INTERESTS IN THE AREA AND MIGHT CAUSE MINI-STATES AND THEIR FREINDS AND NEIGHBORS TO VOTE AGAINST US IN OAS. WE DOUBT THAT LATIN AMERICANS WOULD SUPPORT US ON THIS ISSUE. US PROBABLY STANDS TO GAIN MORE THAN IT WOULD LOSE FROM ADMISSION OF MINI-STATES AS FULL MEMBERS, SINCE THEY WOULD LIKELY VOTE WITH US MORE OFTEN THAN NOT. WE STRONGLY  
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URGE PROPOSAL BE ABANDONED.

END SUMMARY

1. WE NOTE WITH CONCERN PROPOSAL IN PARA 6, REFTEL, WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH A NEW ASSOCIATE STATE MEMBERSHIP FOR SO-CALLED MINI-STATES. THE AUTHORS OF THIS PROPOSAL HAVE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT A LOW ASSESSED CONTRIBUTION WOULD MAKE PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE TO THE MINI-STATES AND THAT PROPOSAL WOULD INCREASE THE STAKE OF FULL MEMBERS IN EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS. THEY ALSO RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF STATES IS A TOUCHY BUSINESS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

2. MOST, IF NOT ALL THE CANDIDATES FOR ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP -- I.E., THE PUTATIVE MINI-STATES (THE TERM ITSELF IS A SUBJECTIVE ONE: HOW SMALL IS "MINI"? WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA?) -- ARE LOCATED WITHIN AREA OF THIS EMBASSY'S JURISDICTION. (REFTEL MENTIONS "ST. KITTS, ANGUILLA, ETC."; ANGUILLA, WHICH IS ABOUT TO REVERT TO COLONIAL STATUS, IS NOT AMONG THOSE LIKELY TO SEEK INDEPENDENCE IN NEAR FUTURE, BUT ANTIGUA, ST. KITTS, ST. LUCIA, ST. VINCENT, AND PERHAPS DOMINICA ARE.) WE BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT WE ARE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN ANYONE ELSE TO COMMENT ON ACCEPTABILITY OF THE PROPOSAL TO THOSE POTENTIALLY AFFECTED BY IT.

3. IT IS OUR CONSIDERED AND STRONGLY-HELD OPINION THAT THE IDEA WOULD BE REJECTED OUT OF HAND BY ALL THE PRESENT WEST INDIES ASSOCIATED STATES. WITH THEIR PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS, THEY ENJOY FULL INTERNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT; ONLY DEFENSE AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS REMAIN IN BRITISH HANDS, AND EVEN IN THESE AREAS HMG HAS DELEGATED NUMEROUS RESPONSIBILITIES TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, ALL FIVE ARE MANIFESTLY DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR STATUS AND AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER HAVE STATED THEY INTEND TO MOVE TOWARD INDEPENDENCE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THEY RESENT NOT BEING INDEPENDENT, NOT SO MUCH BECAUSE THEY ARE NOW DISADVANTAGED AS BECAUSE THEY REGARD THEIR STATUS AS CONSTRICTING AND DEMEANING. FOR SAME REASON, ONCE THEY ARE INDEPENDENT, THEY WOULD REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY CATEGORY OF MEMBERSHIP IN AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION THAT WAS LESS THAN ANY

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OTHER SOVEREIGN STATE ENJOYED, OR THAT SUGGESTED REVERSION TO THEIR PREVIOUS STATUS, EVEN IF ONLY IN A LIMITED ASPECT OF THEIR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. INDEED, THE VERY TERM "ASSOCIATE" IS A NEGATIVE ONE FROM THEIR STANDPOINT BECAUSE OF THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH ASSOCIATED STATEHOOD. TO THEM, IT MEANS NEITHER MORE NOR LESS THAN "SECOND CLASS."

4. WE CAN ENVISAGE NO INDUCEMENT THAT WOULD INFLUENCE THEM TO

TAKE A DIFFERENT POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. CLEARLY, A REDUCED ASSESSMENT WOULD NOT BE SUCH AN INDUCEMENT. NOT ONLY ARE THEY WILLING, IF NEED BE, TO PAY THE PRICE INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE REQUIRES; THEY ARE DOUBTLESS AWARE THAT QUESTION OF LEVEL OF ASSESSMENT IS SOMEWHAT ACADEMIC, SINCE MEMBER STATES ARE NOT EXPELLED FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR NON-PAYMENT OF DUES.

5. MOREOVER, IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME WHEN DISTINCTIVE CATEGORIES OF MEMBERSHIP COULD HAVE BEEN DEvised, IT IS NOW PAST. GRENADA, NOW A FULL MEMBER, WOULD CERTAINLY NOT AGREE TO REVERT TO ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP. IF THAT COUNTRY WITH A POPULATION OF 100,000, REMAINS A FULL MEMBER, HOW CAN ST. LUCIA WITH AS GREAT OR GREATER A POPULATION BE DENIED SIMILAR MEMBERSHIP? (IT IS ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN THAT ALL FIVE ASSOCIATED STATES WILL BECOME MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, WHICH ALREADY INCLUDES MUCH SMALLER NAURU, AMONG OTHER "MINI" MEMBERS.)

6. IT IS IMPORTANT, TOO, IT SEEMS TO US, TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS THAT AFFECT NATURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN AND IMPLICATIONS THESE HAVE FOR OUR SPONSORSHIP OF PROPOSAL UNDER DISCUSSION. THERE IS A WIDESPREAD BELIEF IN THIS AREA THAT US SHOWS LITTLE INTEREST IN ITS CARIBBEAN NEIGHBORS BECAUSE WE ARE RICH AND LARGELY WHITE, WHILE THEY ARE POOR AND BLACK. ANY INITIATIVE ON OUR PART THAT WOULD CONFER SECOND-CLASS STATUS ON CARIBBEAN MINI-STATES IN OAS WOULD BE SEEN AS FURTHER CONFIRMING THIS BELIEF AND WOULD BE RESENTED NOT ONLY BY THOSE DIRECTLY AFFECTED BUT ALSO BY LARGER STATES WITH LIKE RACIAL BACKGROUNDS AND PERCEPTIONS. INDEED, BECAUSE OF THESE FACTORS, WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD BE RECEIVED IN THIS AREA GENERALLY

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WITH INDIGNATION, IF NOT RAGE, AND WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO OUR OVERALL INTERESTS HERE.

7. WE ARE AWARE THAT SOME LATIN AMERICANS ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT ADMISSION OF MINI-STATES TO OAS ON EQUAL FOOTING, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT, IF THE LATTER PERSIST, THEY WILL GET THEIR WAY. THE EQUALITY OF SOVERIGN STATES IS A CHERISHED CONCEPT IN LATIN AMERICA, AND SOME SMALLER L.A.'S MIGHT WELL BE CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE REDUCTION OF THEIR OWN STATUS. LATIN AMERICAN STATES ALSO PROFESS BE THIRD WORLD-MINDED, AND MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE; THEY WOULD THEREFORE BE RELUCTANT TO POSITION THEMSELVES ON THIS ISSUE AGAINST POTENTIAL MEMBERS OF THAT BLOC. FURTHERMORE, HOW CAN A GOVERNMENT LOGICALLY VOTE FOR ADMISSION OF SEYCHELLES (POP. 50,000) TO UN AS A FULL

MEMBER AND INSIST ON LESS THAN FULL MEMBERSHIP FOR A  
STATE TWICE AS LARGE IN OAS?

8. FROM STANDPOINT OF ADVANCING OUR OWN INTERESTS IN OAS,  
WE PROBABLY STAND TO GAIN MORE FROM INCLUSION OF THESE  
STATES AS FULL MEMBERS THAN FROM THEIR EXCLUSION.  
HISTORIES AND TRADITIONS OF US AND EASTERN CARIBBEAN ARE  
CLOSELY INTERTWINED, WE SHARE COMMON LANGUAGE, AND ETHNIC  
TIES ARE IMPORTANT. THE SUPPORT GIVEN BY BARBADOS AND  
GRENADA TO US IN INTERNATIONAL FORA TO DATE STRONGLY SUP-  
PORTS BOTH CONTENTION THAT MINI-STATES, TOO, WILL BE WITH  
US MORE OFTEN THAN AGAINST US, AND A CASE FOR THEIR IN-  
CLUSION IN OAS AS FULL MEMBERS.

9. IN SUMMARY, OUR VIEW IS THAT PROPOSAL FOR ASSOCIATE  
MEMBERSHIP HAS NO PROSPECT OF SUCCESS AND IS NOT IN ACCORD  
WITH OUR INTERESTS IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN. IF WE PURSUE  
THE MATTER, WE WILL NOT ONLY FIND OURSELVES IN A MINORITY  
ON THIS ISSUE BUT WILL HAVE INCURRED RESENTMENT BOTH OF  
NEW MINI-STATES AND THEIR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. THIS  
COULD LEAD TO VOTING BY CARIBBEAN STATES AGAINST US IN OAS  
ON OTHER MORE IMPORTANT ISSUES (NOT TO MENTION OTHER LIKELY  
UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES SUGGESTED ABOVE). FOR THESE  
REASONS, WE THEREFORE STRONGLY URGE THAT PROPOSAL BE  
ABANDONED.BRITTON

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